

# Sometimes It Does Matter

## The 2016 Presidential Primary Election in Pennsylvania

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*Since the first presidential primary was held in Pennsylvania in the spring of 1912, rarely has the state truly impacted the race. A combination of forces, notably the rather late date that it has traditionally been scheduled relative to other states has all but guaranteed that the presumptive nominees of the Democratic and Republican Parties have long ago been selected. As long as this remains the case, it's difficult to imagine the state's voters ever being able to winnow a field of candidates, no matter how large or small it is. However, on rare occasions, the lateness of the Pennsylvania's primary election allows the state's voters to be one, if not the deciding force on who lays final claim to the nomination. Such was the case on April 24, 2016, when Pennsylvanians essentially settled the contest on both sides, elevating Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump toward their ultimate nominations.*

**P**ennsylvania's position in the presidential selection process has been a source of consternation for many observers for decades, and why shouldn't it be? The nation's fifth largest state, one that is still considered a battleground politically, has been forced to the sidelines while primaries and caucuses in Iowa, New Hampshire, and South Carolina's grab most of the attention, not to mention the financial benefits accorded to states that hold their primaries early in the season. In recent years, this situation has

become more pronounced as an increasing number of states have moved their presidential primaries or caucuses to an earlier date on the election calendar, a situation referred to as front-loading (Brewer and Maisel 2016). In fact, by 2008, this process had accelerated to the extent that half the states held their contests prior to February 5, supplanting the old Super Tuesday in early March (Flanigan and Zingale 2014).

However, while there are times that these early states may effectively winnow the field, they have nevertheless failed to produce a decisive victor. That task is then left to the states that follow in the election calendar, one of which is Pennsylvania. Such was the case in 2016, when Pennsylvania assumed a greater role in the candidate selection process for the two major parties than ever in the history of presidential primary elections.

Heading into the April 26 showdown, both of the Democratic and Republican Party front-runners, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and businessman Donald Trump, were coming off resounding victories the previous week in the New York primary. This appeared to have reversed the losses each had suffered the previous weeks, with Vermont senator Bernie Sanders winning seven straight primaries or caucuses and Texas senator Ted Cruz trouncing Trump in the Wisconsin primary. However, questions remained for both since the Empire State was the adopted home for Clinton and the life-long home for Trump, whose profile in that state looms so large that one of New York City's most famous buildings, Trump Tower, just happens to be named in his honor.

## Campaigning

Without the home field advantage, all four of these campaigns, along with that of Ohio governor John Kasich, who was still competing on the GOP side, descended on Pennsylvania. Although there were four other primaries held on April 26, Connecticut, Delaware, Maryland, and Rhode Island, the Keystone State was unquestionably the biggest prize. Dubbed the "Acela Primary" because these five states are linked by Amtrak's fastest carrier, the number of delegates selected in Pennsylvania by both the two parties (281) was only a little less than that of the other four combined (355).

For the Democrats, despite his string of recent victories, Sanders remained a long shot to grab the nomination. He was within striking distance of Clinton among pledged delegates, trailing 1,444 to 1,245, but trailed 502 to 38 among unpledged party leaders known as superdelegates, which meant that he was now clearly a long shot to amass the 2,382 delegates required to secure the Democratic Party nomination. Overall, Clinton had won 21 primaries and

caucuses while Sanders prevailed in 19 prior to Pennsylvania (Couloumbis 2016a).

On the Republican side, Donald Trump had astounded everyone with his success, initially grabbing the lead in public opinion polls during the previous summer, later surviving a series of debates that drew record television audiences, and finally translating that into victory after victory on the GOP side. Along the way he was able to marginalize and even humiliate some of his political rivals who originally comprised the 17-candidate field, the largest ever in modern presidential politics. After rebounding in New York after the rocky patch in Wisconsin, April 26 stood as perhaps the last chance for Cruz, Kasich, or those within the party who were prepared to support anyone to derail his bid. Heading into the “Acela Primary,” Trump had amassed 847 of the 1,237 delegates needed to win, while Cruz followed with 560 delegates and Kasich just 149. The breakdown of primary, caucus, and convention victories at this point was 23 for Trump, 13 for Cruz, and only one, his home state of Ohio for Kasich. Senator Marco Rubio, who suspended his campaign following his defeat in the March 15 Florida primary, also won two (Couloumbis 2016b).

In the immediate run up to primary day, Senator Sanders was the first to arrive in the state on Tuesday evening attracting a crowd estimated at over 6,000 supporters at Pennsylvania State University (Table 1). That Sanders chose to spend this night in State College, which was also the evening of the New York Primary, underscores both the importance he placed upon Pennsylvania for his campaign and what he correctly perceived to be his prospects in New York. The same could be said for Senator Cruz, who spent the afternoon at the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia before a considerably smaller crowd of about 100 (Couloumbis 2016a).

Over the course of the week, the five candidates made 24 appearances across the Commonwealth. Crowds ranged in size from a few dozen at a diner in Philadelphia in which John Kasich made the rounds to approximately 8,500 at a Sanders rally in Pittsburgh. Prominent surrogates also made a number of appearances across the state. Clinton’s campaign used these supporters more extensively. Her allies included her husband, President Bill Clinton, New Jersey senator Cory Booker, former Arizona congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords, and various state officials from Pennsylvania including Senator Robert Casey. Meanwhile, Vermont Ice Cream moguls Ben and Jerry and actresses Susan Sarandon and Rosario Dawson stumped for Sanders. Dawson created a stir when she raised the name of Monica Lewinsky as someone who has also been a victim of bullying by the Clintons. Lewinsky, of course, had an alleged affair with the former president while an intern in the White House. Also, an

<b>Table 1. Democratic Party Candidate Campaign Appearances, April 19–26, 2016</b>			
<b>Date</b>	<b>Candidates</b>	<b>Site</b>	<b>City</b>
Tuesday, April 19	Bernie Sanders	Pennsylvania State University	State College
	Ted Cruz	National Constitution Center	Philadelphia
Wednesday, April 20	Hillary Clinton	St. Paul's Baptist Church	Philadelphia
		The Fillmore	Philadelphia
	Ted Cruz	Antique Automobile Club	Hershey
Thursday, April 21	Bernie Sanders	Scranton Cultural Center (a)	Scranton
		Santander Performing Arts Center	Reading
		Philadelphia Expo Center	Oaks
	Donald Trump	Farm Show Complex (b)	Harrisburg
	John Kasich	Penn State-Brandywine (c)	Media
Friday, April 22	Hillary Clinton	Curds and Whey	Jenkintown
	Bernie Sanders	Sharon Baptist Center	Philadelphia
		Gettysburg College	Gettysburg
	Ted Cruz	Lackawanna Station Hotel (d)	Scranton
Saturday, April 23	Ted Cruz	Gateway High School (e)	Monroeville
Sunday, April 24	Hillary Clinton	Triumph Baptist Church	Philadelphia
		African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas	Philadelphia
Monday, April 25	Hillary Clinton	Philadelphia City Hall	Philadelphia
	Bernie Sanders	David Lawrence Convention Center (f)	Pittsburgh
		National Constitution Center	Philadelphia
		Drexel University	Philadelphia
	Donald Trump	West Chester University	West Chester
	John Kasich	Penrose Diner	Philadelphia
Tuesday, April 26	Hillary Clinton	Pennsylvania Convention Center	Philadelphia

*Sources: Philadelphia Inquirer, except as otherwise noted: (a) from times-tribune.com, (b) from mccall.com, (c) from centredaily.com, (d) from timesleader.com, (e) from wtaw.com, (f) from wpxi.com.*

endorsement for Sanders from former congressman and Philadelphia mayor Bill Green attracted attention.

The Republican candidates did not use surrogates as extensively, though for Trump it probably wasn't as necessary, as he commanded so much attention through his own media pronouncements. It was perhaps telling that only Hillary Clinton decided that it was in her interest to spend election night in

Philadelphia. The other winner, Donald Trump had already decamped back home to Trump Tower in New York where he claimed victory later that night.

## The Vote

After the votes were counted, Pennsylvania had delivered a resounding victory for both Clinton and Trump in their respective primaries. Additionally, Clinton won three of the four other states contested on April 26, only losing to Sanders in Rhode Island. For Sanders, it made the nomination fight even more of an uphill battle, though he would soldier on, hoping that something (perhaps a Clinton indictment) could derail her campaign enough to give him an opening with the unpledged delegates. For the GOP, however, the race was now essentially over. Senator Cruz would make one last-ditch attempt to stop Trump, but the momentum that the businessman now possessed propelled him to another big victory the following week in Indiana. Following that result, Cruz announced that he had suspended his campaign. The following day, Governor Kasich followed suit.

On the Democratic Party side, Clinton amassed a plurality of just over 203,000 votes on her way to securing almost 56% of the vote overall, a 12-point victory over her rival (Table 2). She benefited enormously by running up both

**Table 2. Democratic and Republican Vote for President in Pennsylvania Primary by Region, 2016**

<i>Democrats</i>							
	Clinton	Percentage	Sanders	Percentage	Totals		
Southeast	420,838	61%	274,675	39%	695,513		
Southwest	207,217	56%	163,773	44%	370,990		
Northeast	93,649	53%	81,631	47%	175,280		
Central "T"	213,403	50%	211,802	50%	425,205		
<b>Totals</b>	<b>935,107</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>731,881</b>	<b>44%</b>	<b>1,666,988</b>		
<i>Republicans</i>							
	Trump	Percentage	Cruz	Percentage	Kasich	Percentage	Totals
Southeast	207,660	53%	75,367	19%	108,787	28%	391,814
Southwest	167,242	58%	60,254	21%	62,090	21%	289,586
Northeast	100,472	67%	28,025	19%	20,880	14%	149,377
Central "T"	427,219	59%	181,860	25%	118,246	16%	727,325
<b>Totals</b>	<b>902,593</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>345,506</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>310,003</b>	<b>19%</b>	<b>1,558,102</b>

*Source:* Raw data were provided by the Pennsylvania Department of State. Regional numbers are based on the author's categorizations. Data are rounded to the nearest whole number.



more votes. Of course, the fact that a candidate has won a particular county may not mean much beyond that fact, an example being Clinton's one vote victory in two counties, Bedford and Fulton.

On the Republican side, the magnitude of Donald Trump's victory in what was at the time still a competitive race for his party's nomination highlights why both of his remaining competitors were on the verge of abandoning their bids. He dominated each of the state's geographic regions, scoring a majority in each, with a high of 67% in the Northeast. Trump registered over 70% of the vote in six counties, including a high of 77% in Luzerne, and over 60% in 30 additional ones. His competitors kept him below 50% in only four of the state's 67 counties (Centre, Chester, Lancaster, and Montgomery). In fact, the 44% that Trump received in culturally conservative Lancaster County was his lowest overall in the state. The race for second really didn't matter at this point, though for the record Ted Cruz managed 22% to John Kasich's 19%. The former's strongest showing was in Lancaster County (32%), while 31% in Chester County marked a high for the latter.<sup>2</sup>

Behind Donald Trump's total sweep of Pennsylvania's counties, the victories that both he and Clinton registered over their rivals were otherwise quite similar, with the Republican receiving 57% of the vote compared to 56% for the Democrat. In raw numbers, Clinton narrowly outpolled Trump by slightly under 33,000 votes, which is almost exactly 1% of the 3.2 million votes cast combined between the two parties.

## **The Delegate Battle**

In the week prior to primary day there was as much discussion of the way in which delegates to the national committee were allocated than actual policy issues. In fact, on the GOP side, the delegates, in essence became political candidates themselves, holding events, appearing in various news outlets, and expending resources in order to generate support for their candidacy. To some degree, the contests between these delegates for a coveted spot at the national convention competed with the attention afforded the actual presidential contenders.

While the method by which Democrats select their delegates is certainly not without its critics, the process on the Republican side is at least more complicated and perhaps more controversial. A product of the State Republican Party in Pennsylvania, it has been in existence for decades. Overall, Pennsylvania had 71 delegates slated to attend the Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio. Of those, 17 are selected in a traditional manner that many states use, being allocated automatically to the candidate that wins

statewide. These delegates include 14 who are later selected by the Republican State Committee and, along with three National Committee members, are bound on the first ballot to vote for top vote getter.

What generated all of the attention, however, was the process in how the remaining 54 delegates, all unbound, are determined. These 54 delegates comprise the largest collection of uncommitted delegates nationally and adds an additional layer of politicking. Not just a campaign among the three candidates who remained, it also became a contest for the 162 individuals who ran for these 54 slots across the state. To make the ballot, all that was required was to post 250 signatures. Newspapers, talk-radio hosts, and even national cable stations all began identifying who these individuals were in an attempt to ascertain who they were supporting. One journalist even personally interviewed 65 of them to find out where they stood (Smith 2016).

Losing some delegate battles to Cruz in the weeks leading up to Pennsylvania only fed into Trump's claim that the system was "rigged" or "crooked" and ultimately played so well into his campaign narrative that it undoubtedly contributed to his overwhelming victory. Because of the size of his victory, controversy surrounding the delegate selection system was ultimately moot, as the *New Yorker* walked away with 42 of 54 available. Of those, 31 were individuals who had declared themselves as Trump supporters prior to the primary and an additional 11 who had professed support to the winner of their congressional district. Ted Cruz received only 4, while 3 others were pledged to the most electable candidate, which was perceived by most as a vote for Kasich (Greenpaper.com 2016). At the time this manuscript was submitted, the final five unbound delegates remained uncommitted.

The foremost criticism of the manner in which the Democratic Party selects its delegates centers on its unpledged delegates. These superdelegates were established in 1982 by the Hunt Commission in an attempt to give party leaders a greater say in the selection of their party's nominee. This came after the insurgent candidacies of George McGovern and Jimmy Carter had grabbed the party nomination in previous cycles. However, criticism of this is leveled at the national party and not at the state Democratic Party, since that is where these rules are made. The Democrats send 210 delegates overall to the national convention, a figure divided between those categorized as pledged and unpledged. Within the pledged category, 189 are allocated to candidates based upon the primary returns. Of those, 127 are determined by the proportional vote that each candidate receives in each of the state's 18 congressional districts. The 62 pledged delegates that remain are distributed according to each candidate's statewide percentage of the vote. Additionally, there is a 15% mandatory threshold required of the candidate to receive delegates based



upon those allocated at either the congressional district or statewide level (Pennsylvania Democratic Party 2016).

Of those considered part of the unpledged group, 13 are members of the Democratic National Committee, while the 6 members of the state's congressional delegation (1 senator and 5 House members), and the governor, Tom Wolf, are designated automatically. Former governor Ed Rendell, chosen as the one distinguished party leader rounded out the list of superdelegates (Pennsylvania Democratic Party 2016).

## Voter Turnout

Other than the size of the victory for the two front-runners, perhaps the biggest story of the 2016 presidential primary in Pennsylvania was the dramatic difference in turnout recorded between the two parties. As Table 3 indicates, 51% of Republican Party voters cast their ballot on April 24, the majority of whom voted for Donald Trump. In contrast, only 41% of Democrats felt that it was worth their effort to cast a ballot for either Hillary Clinton or Bernie Sanders. This suggests a large enthusiasm gap between how each of the party's rank and file voters views their candidates, which should be of particular concern for Democrats heading into the fall.

Additionally, turnout on the Democratic Party side was largely driven by just a few counties, particularly those located in the southeast part of the state. Had it not been for these voters, turnout for the Democrats would have been nothing short of abysmal, especially in comparison to the GOP turnout. While turnout in the southeast was still relatively low at 45% , four points less than that on the Republican side, the gap was much smaller than in the other regions, where it reached double digits in each. Republican voters were

**Table 3. Democratic and Republican Party Turnout for Pennsylvania Primary, 2016**

	Democrats	Votes	Percentage	Republicans	Votes	Percentage
Southeast	1,558,077	698,831	45%	824,089	402,213	49%
Southwest	908,934	375,364	41%	573,491	294,142	51%
Northeast	466,792	176,920	38%	303,914	151,791	50%
Central "T"	1,122,147	430,312	38%	1,420,625	746,329	53%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>4,055,950</b>	<b>1,681,427</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>3,122,119</b>	<b>1,594,475</b>	<b>51%</b>

*Source:* Raw data were provided by the Pennsylvania Department of State. Regional numbers are based on the author's categorizations. Data are rounded to the nearest whole number.

particularly motivated in the Central “T,” where turnout reached 53%, a staggering 15 points higher than Democratic turnout in this 47 county area.<sup>3</sup>

Additionally, in only 12 of the state’s 67 counties did the Democrats register turnout higher than their overall 41% average. This includes those five counties in the southeast, along with the Democratic strongholds of Allegheny and Lackawanna Counties. Centre County, where the Democrats hold a modest edge, also was above the average. The remaining counties on this list are all located along the Susquehanna River (Wyoming, Union, Perry, and Cumberland) and are also all staunchly Republican. Conversely, in 49 counties, turnout was below the overall 41% average, while in 7 others, it was the exact average. Overall, turnout among Democrats across the state ranged from a high of 50% in Montgomery County to a low of only 29% in Fulton and Jefferson Counties (Figure 2).

In comparison, voter turnout on the GOP side, generated primarily by Donald Trump, was nothing less than remarkable. At 51%, not only was it more than half of registered Republicans statewide, it was also more consistently distributed across the entire Commonwealth. Turnout on the Republican side was above the statewide average in 40 of Pennsylvania’s 67 counties and even with the statewide average in another 9 counties. Therefore, in only 18 counties was it behind the overall average. The highest turnout on the GOP

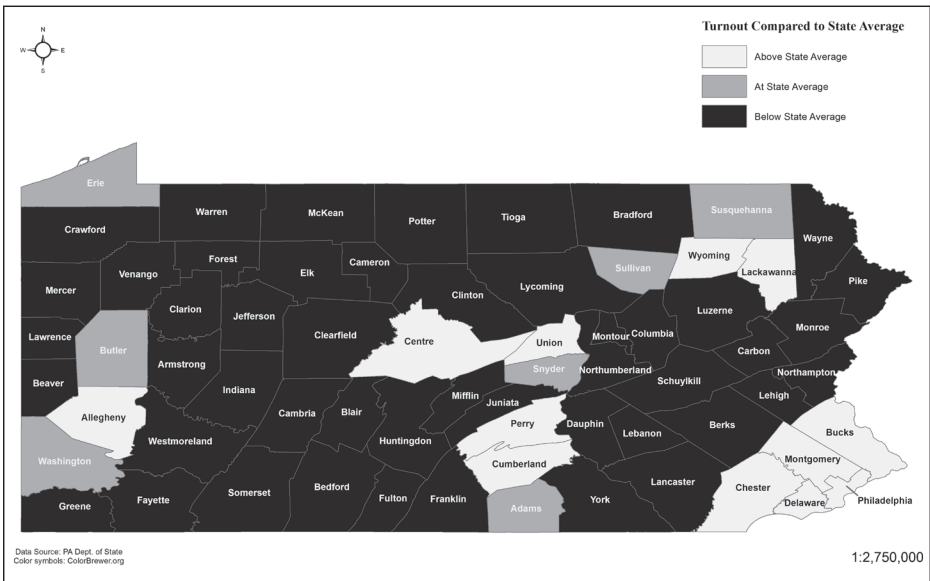


Figure 2. Democratic Party Turnout by County, 2016. (Pennsylvania Department of State.)

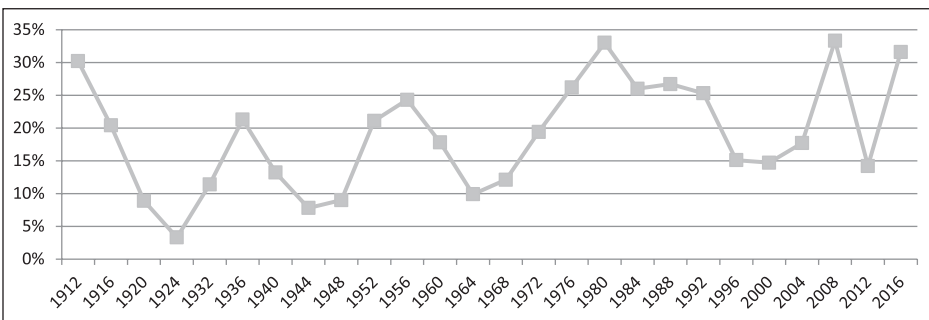


Below, Figure 4 illustrates the fluctuation in the VAP that has occurred over time.

The first Pennsylvania primary election took place on April 13, 1912, one day before the sinking of the Titanic, and it was also one of the most tumultuous contests that the state would ever witness. It was one of 13 states nationally that moved to a primary system, opening up the process in some degree to each party’s rank and file. This was a significant increase from just four years earlier in 1908 when only four states held primaries (Gans 2010).

Table 4. Voting Age Population Turnout Rates in Pennsylvania Primary since 1912							
Year	VAP Turnout Rate	Year	VAP Turnout Rate	Year	VAP Turnout Rate	Year	VAP Turnout Rate
2016	31.6%	1988	26.7%	1960	17.8%	1932	11.4%
2012	14.2%	1984	26.0%	1956	24.3%	1928	N/A
2008	33.3%	1980	33.0%	1952	21.1%	1924	3.3%
2004	17.7%	1976	26.2%	1948	9.0%	1920	8.9%
2000	14.7%	1972	19.4%	1944	7.8%	1916	20.4%
1996	15.1%	1968	12.1%	1940	13.2%	1912	30.2%
1992	25.3%	1964	9.9%	1936	21.3%		

Sources: For years 1912–2008, Curtis Gans, ed., *Voter Turnout in the United States, 1788–2009* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010). For years 2012 and 2016, *Presidential Primary Vote Turnout*, USElectionProject.com.



**Figure 4.** Voting Age Population Turnout Rates in Pennsylvania Primary since 1912. (For Years 1912–2008: Curtis Gans, ed., *Voter Turnout in the United States, 1788–2009*. [Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2010]. For years 2012 and 2016: *Presidential Primary Vote Turnout*, USElectionProject.com.)

The bitter battle between former president Theodore Roosevelt and his running mate, and now president, William Howard Taft, escalated throughout the primary season and would divide the GOP in Pennsylvania as it had throughout the nation. Taft had the support of Republican boss and U.S. senator Boies Penrose as well as the powerful Philadelphia machine, while Roosevelt efforts were led by former U.S. senator William Flynn of Pittsburgh. While Roosevelt won with 60% of the vote and walked off with a majority of the delegates, he fell short of the nomination largely due to the national leadership of the GOP ultimately rallying around Taft (“Election Results” 1912). At this time, the overwhelming majority of delegates were selected in state conventions by state committees and not in primaries.

Through much of this time the impact of the state’s primary was negligible, either because many of the delegates were still selected independently of the primary in conventions or because the primary came rather late in the calendar. There was also a history of “favorite sons” candidacies up through the 1960s, which were commonly used in many states as a way for party leaders to exert greater control over the state delegation process and to also have more clout at the national convention.<sup>4</sup>

Additionally, write-in candidacies were also the norm up until the 1980s. In fact, twice, in 1923 and 1964, every candidate was a write-in. In other years, such as 1944 (Franklin Roosevelt), 1948 (Harry Truman), 1960 (Richard Nixon), 1968 (Eugene McCarthy), only one candidate was listed on the ballot for each party. Everyone else was a write-in. Even as late as 1976, Ronald Reagan was a write-in, his name not appearing on the ballot. The impact of primaries throughout the years was minimal and certainly not the major political event that they are today (Gans 2010).

It wasn’t until 1980 that primaries in Pennsylvania began to approach a style that would be recognizable today. That year was also the second time that turnout reached the 30% mark and stands as the second highest in the state’s primary history. Generating this interest was a competitive race for both parties. On the GOP side, George Bush’s more moderate stance played well among Republican voters and he easily defeated the more conservative Ronald Reagan by 8 percentage points. However, the controversy surrounding the delegate selection process appeared for the first time after Reagan walked off with a majority of the convention delegates. Of course, Reagan also eventually prevailed, selected Bush as his running mate uniting the party, and went on to win in the fall (Gans 2010).

Such was not the case on the Democratic side, in what was one of the most acrimonious contests ever to appear in either party’s history, perhaps rivaled only by the Roosevelt/Taft fight. Like the 1912 internecine battle, this also

involved a sitting U.S. president; this time Jimmy Carter was challenged from the left by Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. While Kennedy narrowly prevailed in Pennsylvania, thanks in part to a last-minute endorsement by Philadelphia Mayor Bill Green, it still wasn't enough to prevent the incumbent from reclaiming the nomination, thanks in large part to a series of primary victories that he had rolled up in the early stages of the campaign. Again, just as in 1912, the fissure between the two combatants and their supporters didn't heal in time to prevent the opposition party from winning in November.

The highest primary turnout recorded in Pennsylvania history would occur more recently in 2008, when Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama squared off against one another in a dramatic primary contest. While this year produced intense competition on both sides, what Pennsylvania experienced in 2008 on the Democratic side was unparalleled. This was due not only to the continuing struggle between the contenders but the sheer amount of time that existed between the most recent primary to take place in Mississippi on March 11. For six weeks, Pennsylvania was the center of the political universe and the drama produced by both sides did not disappoint. First, during this time, in late March, a video appeared in which the Reverend Jeremiah Wright, pastor at Obama's Chicago church, was caught making particularly incendiary racial statements from the pulpit. While Obama rejected these comments, the question of whether he was actually in attendance on the day of the service was the source of much speculation ("The Wright Controversy" 2008).

Then with two weeks to go before the primary, Obama faced perhaps the greatest crisis of his entire campaign. A video was leaked from a fundraiser in San Francisco in which he commented that working-class people "cling to guns or religion" because they had been abandoned by their political leaders. Both Clinton and the Republicans presented it as evidence that he was elitist and condescending to working-class voters. Obama was clearly put on the defensive as election day approached. In addition, the Democratic organization throughout the state was largely behind Clinton, particularly in vote-rich Philadelphia, where former mayor and then governor Ed Rendell spearheaded her efforts (Seelye 2008).

Clinton rode all this to an overwhelming victory in the state, racking up 55% of the vote. However, unlike this year, it was her opponent who came in with the delegate lead, and her victory in Pennsylvania proved to be too little too late. However, unlike the Republicans in 1912 and the Democrats in 1980, the rift between the two camps largely disappeared by the fall allowing the party to regain the presidency. What develops between now and November between the Clinton and Sanders factions will certainly impact the final outcome once again.

## Turnout Revisited

Another way to address turnout, which can provide further insight on the state of this campaign and also the history of the state's primary selection process, is comparing the percentage of voters within the two parties to their share of registered voters. Those results, listed in Table 5, examine this aspect of turnout since the modern era of presidential primaries began in 1980 and provide insight on two fronts. First, it is clearly evident, and not surprising, that the competitiveness of the nomination fight within a particular party has a major impact on the level of overall turnout. For instance, turnout was over 40% in both the Democratic and Republican primaries three times, 1980, 1992, and 2016, all years when both sides offered a competitive race for president. While the race in 1992 was largely settled by the time the Pennsylvania primary arrived in April, interest in politics that year was at a high not seen in decades, thanks in part to a recession, and also a compelling third party bid initiated by H. Ross Perot. Thus, while Paul Tsongas and Patrick Buchanan's quests were clearly on the verge of coming up short on the Democratic and Republican sides, respectively, interest remained high throughout that spring in the political process.

The impact that the competitiveness of a race can have on turnout is also clearly evident when there is an incumbent president unopposed on one

**Table 5. Democratic and Republican Party Turnout Compared with Registered Voters**

Year	Registered Democrats	Registered Republicans	Democratic Turnout	Republican Turnout	Democratic Turnout Percentage	Republican Turnout Percentage
2016	4,062,360	3,126,164	1,681,427	1,594,475	41.4%	51.0%
2012	4,131,280	3,061,125	616,102	808,115	14.9%	26.4%
2008	4,200,109	3,186,057	2,336,480	816,928	55.6%	25.6%
2004	3,706,122	3,230,496	729,882	861,551	19.7%	26.7%
2000	3,633,822	3,161,402	704,150	643,085	19.4%	20.3%
1996	3,147,836	2,765,840	724,069	684,204	23.0%	24.7%
1992	2,710,389	2,362,748	1,265,495	1,008,777	46.7%	42.7%
1988	2,848,528	2,279,849	1,507,890	870,549	52.9%	38.2%
1984	3,176,515	2,230,508	1,597,055	616,916	50.3%	27.7%
1980	2,917,087	2,190,441	1,600,820	1,211,222	54.9%	55.3%

Source: Pennsylvania Department of State. Data were tabulated by the author.

party column while the other has a contest, albeit one that might be basically decided by the time of Pennsylvania's primary. In 1984, the Democratic contest between Walter Mondale and Gary Hart was certainly not settled at this point, and turnout was 23 points greater than the Republicans who were poised to renominate President Reagan. However, there was also roughly a 12-point differential in 2012 when it was Democratic president Barack Obama running unopposed, and it was the Republicans who still had a race, albeit one in which by this time it was almost certain that Mitt Romney was the one headed toward the nomination.

Additionally, there are also times when a competitive race further down the ballot might be credited with producing a spike in turnout. Such was the case in 2004, when even though turnout was down overall as the presidential race was all but decided by April on the Democratic side and President George W. Bush was unopposed, GOP turnout was seven points higher, thanks to the competitive primary challenge that Specter faced from Congressman Pat Toomey.

### **The Contrasting Results of 2008 and 2012**

The most compelling data, however, as it pertains to the upcoming election this fall is the difference in Democratic and Republican turnout this year as it contrasts with the Democratic Party turnout in 2008. Despite more than 900,000 registered voters statewide, Democrats only outnumbered Republicans heading to the polls on primary day in 2016 by slightly less than 87,000 voters. Consistent with this data, the percentage difference between the two parties was considerable at 9.6%. This "enthusiasm gap" between the two parties should be of particular concern for the Democrats as they head into the fall campaign and perhaps portends that Pennsylvania will be one of the key battleground states.

What should be of particular concern to Democrats is the turnout levels recorded this spring in their Clinton/Sanders contest, compared with the numbers achieved by Clinton eight years ago in her battle with Barack Obama. More than 655,000 more Democrats lined up to cast their ballot in 2008 than they did this year. Again, the percentage difference follows and produces an incredible 14.2% gap between these two electoral cycles. Making this even more worrisome is that not only were both still vigorously being fought (thus worth comparing) but that they're the same individual; Hillary Clinton, was the eventual winner in both races (and by basically the same margin).



Below, Table 6 addresses Clinton's decline through a different lens, marking a contrast between her vote totals and overall percentage in each of Pennsylvania's four political regions.

Only in the southeast, was she able to increase both her overall numbers (over 40,000 votes) and percentage (11%). This is largely attributable to the support that Barack Obama received in these counties, particularly in Philadelphia in the 2008 contest. While she was able to maintain the same percentage (62%) in the "T," Clinton's number did decline by almost 160,000 votes in the region. In the southwest and northwest, however, there was a falloff of over 138,000 and 82,000 votes, respectively, accounting for a sharp decrease of 15 percentage points in each.

As for individual counties, in 2016, her raw vote increased in only four counties, three of which, Chester (187 votes), Dauphin (105), and Delaware (3,224) only slightly.<sup>5</sup> Only in Philadelphia, where she experienced an increase of 65,012 was the difference of any significance. Again, this increase is also more likely due to the fact that she wasn't running against Barack Obama, whose support in the African-American community was unrivaled, than it was to a sudden jolt of support for Clinton's own campaign. What should be particularly concerning to Clinton's supporters is the decline she experienced in some of the most stalwart Democratic counties in the state, such as over 45,000 fewer in Allegheny, 20,000 in Lackawanna, and 27,000 in Luzerne. Along with more partisan balanced counties such as Bucks and Westmoreland, her numbers also slipped considerably by over 24,000 and 26,000, respectively. Assuredly, these are the type of places that Trump and the GOP will be targeting in the fall.

As for comparing her overall percentages, Clinton was able to increase her share in ten counties, Allegheny, Centre, Chester, Dauphin, Delaware,

**Table 6. Hillary Clinton's Vote Comparison between 2008 and 2016 by Pennsylvania Political Region**

	2008 Votes	2016 Votes	Votes +/-	2008 Percentage	2016 Percentage	Percentage +/-
Southeast	379,945	420,838	40,893	48%	59%	11%
Southwest	345,820	207,217	-138,603	70%	55%	-15%
Northeast	176,546	93,649	-82,897	68%	52%	-15%
Central "T"	372,728	213,403	-159,325	62%	62%	0%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1,275,039</b>	<b>935,107</b>	<b>-339,932</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>-5%</b>

*Source:* Raw data were provided by the Pennsylvania Department of State. Regional numbers are based on the author's categorizations. Data are rounded to the nearest whole number.

Lancaster, Montgomery, Philadelphia, Potter and Union, four of which are located in the southeast. The sole county in this region in which her percentage declined was in Bucks. Nevertheless, while her percentage share did increase overall in 2016, Clinton's significant 339,451 vote drop indicates some weakness and suggests that this percentage increase is probably due more to that fact that she was running against a more popular candidate in 2008.

Indeed, as Table 7 illustrates, a comparison of exit poll results following Clinton's 2008 and 2016 Pennsylvania primary victories reveals one of her greatest challenges heading into the fall (Trump's victory was so dominant that the GOP exit polls reveal little). Some variances can be expected, such as the shift in voting along racial lines (given her opponent was Obama

<b>Table 7. Exit Poll Results, Pennsylvania Democratic Presidential Primary, 2008 and 2016</b>						
	<b>2008</b>			<b>2016</b>		
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Obama</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Sanders</b>
<b>Gender</b>						
Male	42%	49%	51%	40%	49%	50%
Female	58%	59%	41%	60%	60%	39%
<b>Vote by Age</b>						
18–29	12%	40%	60%	12%	17%	83%
30–44	19%	47%	53%	24%	47%	53%
45–59	37%	56%	44%	41%	65%	34%
60 and Older	32%	62%	38%	23%	67%	31%
<b>Vote by Race</b>						
White	80%	63%	37%	68%	51%	47%
Black	15%	10%	90%	19%	70%	30%
<b>Education</b>						
No College Degree	53%	58%	42%	45%	55%	45%
College Graduate	47%	51%	49%	55%	56%	43%
<b>Is Hillary Clinton Honest and Trustworthy?</b>						
Yes	58%	77%	23%	58%	81%	17%
No	40%	23%	77%	38%	18%	82%
<b>Area Type</b>						
Urban	29%	40%	60%	48%	57%	43%
Suburban	31%	59%	41%	31%	59%	41%
Rural	20%	63%	37%	21%	48%	50%
Source: CNN.com: <a href="http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/primaries/results/epolls/#PADEM">http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/primaries/results/epolls/#PADEM</a> ; <a href="http://www.cnn.com/election/primaries/states/pa/Dem">http://www.cnn.com/election/primaries/states/pa/Dem</a> .						

eight years earlier) and some that might seem surprising, such as how her numbers increased overall on the question of trustworthiness. However, the most startling contrast within these two sets of exit polls can be traced to those Democratic primary voters between the ages of 18–29. Within this subgroup, Clinton’s support declined from 40% in 2008 to just 17% this year. For her to win in November, much will hinge on whether she can win back these younger voters who served as the bedrock of Bernie Sanders campaign. Whether she is able to attract those voters who opposed her in the primary, such as Obama did with her voters eight years ago, will go a long way toward deciding not only who grabs Pennsylvania’s 20 electoral votes, but also who takes the biggest prize itself.

**APPENDIX A**

<b>Table A.1. Categorization Key for Pennsylvania’s Political Geographic Regions</b>			
<b>Southeast (5)</b>	<b>Southwest (9)</b>	<b>Northeast (6)</b>	<b>Central “T” (47)</b>
Bucks Chester Delaware Montgomery Philadelphia	Allegheny Armstrong Beaver Butler Fayette Greene Lawrence Washington Westmoreland	Carbon Lackawanna Lehigh Luzerne Monroe Northampton	Adams Bedford Berks Blair Bradford Cambria Cameron Centre Clarion Clearfield Clinton Columbia Crawford Cumberland Dauphin Elk Erie Forest Franklin Fulton Huntingdon Indiana Jefferson Juniata Lancaster Lebanon Lycoming McKean Mercer Mifflin Montour Northumberland Perry Pike Potter Schuylkill Snyder Somerset Sullivan Susquehanna Tioga Union Venango Warren Wayne Wyoming York
<p><i>Source:</i> Categorizations based upon the author’s groupings were initially presented in John J. Kennedy, <i>Pennsylvania Elections</i> Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2005.</p>			

## APPENDIX B

Table B.1. Democratic Vote for President in Pennsylvania Primary by County, 2016				
County	Clinton	Percentage	Sanders	Percentage
Adams	3,863	48%	4,101	51%
Allegheny	123,715	55%	99,078	44%
Armstrong	2,992	48%	3,073	50%
Beaver	13,531	57%	9,873	42%
Bedford	1,388	49%	1,387	49%
Berks	21,063	48%	22,078	51%
Blair	3,965	47%	4,360	52%
Bradford	1,809	49%	1,839	50%
Bucks	46,917	56%	36,173	43%
Butler	8,790	52%	7,833	46%
Cambria	8,507	47%	9,024	50%
Cameron	186	42%	240	54%
Carbon	3,384	49%	3,460	50%
Centre	8,458	45%	10,331	55%
Chester	33,082	56%	26,193	44%
Clarion	1,529	49%	1,511	49%
Clearfield	3,194	47%	3,414	51%
Clinton	1,704	49%	1,739	50%
Columbia	2,504	40%	3,601	58%
Crawford	3,707	49%	3,789	50%
Cumberland	12,421	52%	11,513	48%
Dauphin	18,474	57%	13,787	42%
Delaware	46,252	60%	30,824	40%
Elk	1,601	45%	1,846	52%
Erie	20,395	52%	18,362	47%
Fayette	9,195	58%	6,460	41%
Forest	251	52%	221	46%
Franklin	4,707	52%	4,282	47%
Fulton	366	49%	365	49%
Greene	2,268	53%	1,927	45%
Huntingdon	1,304	43%	1,666	55%
Indiana	4,049	50%	3,839	48%
Jefferson	1,249	44%	1,507	53%
Juniata	664	46%	754	52%

County	Clinton	Percentage	Sanders	Percentage
Lackawanna	23,020	57%	17,308	42%
Lancaster	19,840	48%	21,321	52%
Lawrence	5,845	59%	3,981	40%
Lebanon	4,669	50%	4,599	49%
Lehigh	20,430	52%	18,338	47%
Luzerne	20,542	52%	18,543	47%
Lycoming	3,808	44%	4,730	55%
McKean	1,053	46%	1,190	52%
Mercer	6,530	57%	4,739	41%
Mifflin	1,201	48%	1,242	50%
Monroe	8,169	53%	7,042	46%
Montgomery	75,628	59%	52,132	41%
Montour	846	48%	890	50%
Northampton	18,104	51%	16,940	48%
Northumberland	3,582	49%	3,632	50%
Perry	1,329	43%	1,752	56%
Philadelphia	218,959	63%	129,353	37%
Pike	2,009	51%	1,894	48%
Potter	402	41%	560	57%
Schuylkill	6,534	51%	6,040	47%
Snyder	1,125	50%	1,081	48%
Somerset	3,114	48%	3,206	50%
Sullivan	312	50%	296	48%
Susquehanna	1,680	50%	1,610	48%
Tioga	1,055	43%	1,354	55%
Union	1,626	50%	1,579	49%
Venango	2,020	48%	2,087	50%
Warren	1,836	52%	1,665	47%
Washington	15,872	57%	11,262	41%
Wayne	1,859	47%	2,026	52%
Westmoreland	25,009	54%	20,286	44%
Wyoming	1,156	48%	1,209	50%
York	18,459	51%	17,544	48%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>935,107</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>731,881</b>	<b>44%</b>

*Source:* Pennsylvania Department of State. Data are rounded to the nearest whole number.

## APPENDIX C

Table C.1. Republican Vote for President in Pennsylvania Primary by County, 2016						
County	Trump	Percentage	Cruz	Percentage	Kasich	Percentage
Adams	9,773	57%	4,076	24%	2,705	16%
Allegheny	61,469	51%	24,091	20%	33,318	28%
Armstrong	7,718	67%	2,205	19%	1,363	12%
Beaver	11,499	57%	4,490	22%	3,747	19%
Bedford	6,577	63%	2,564	25%	963	9%
Berks	29,260	59%	10,622	22%	8,196	17%
Blair	13,178	61%	5,243	24%	2,652	12%
Bradford	6,665	61%	2,415	22%	1,575	14%
Bucks	51,461	57%	17,139	19%	20,240	22%
Butler	20,054	57%	7,813	22%	6,922	20%
Cambria	10,988	65%	3,508	21%	2,077	12%
Cameron	503	58%	195	22%	137	16%
Carbon	6,032	72%	1,433	17%	709	9%
Centre	10,027	49%	5,215	26%	4,569	22%
Chester	35,631	47%	15,038	20%	23,908	31%
Clarion	4,230	61%	1,460	21%	1,026	15%
Clearfield	8,017	67%	2,310	19%	1,423	12%
Clinton	3,236	65%	1,055	21%	550	11%
Columbia	6,071	67%	1,714	19%	1,064	12%
Crawford	7,672	55%	3,617	26%	2,290	16%
Cumberland	22,977	51%	12,200	27%	9,031	20%
Dauphin	21,310	53%	10,200	26%	7,320	18%
Delaware	43,237	52%	13,456	16%	23,640	28%
Elk	2,688	67%	667	17%	577	14%
Erie	16,495	52%	7,856	25%	6,507	21%
Fayette	8,550	70%	2,224	18%	1,327	11%
Forest	598	64%	180	19%	138	15%
Franklin	15,653	58%	6,958	26%	3,671	14%
Fulton	1,779	64%	660	24%	242	9%
Greene	2,532	65%	845	22%	430	11%
Huntingdon	5,236	62%	1,885	22%	981	12%
Indiana	7,743	62%	2,634	21%	1,816	15%
Jefferson	5,222	66%	1,505	19%	1,047	13%
Juniata	2,394	56%	1,163	27%	553	13%

County	Trump	Percentage	Cruz	Percentage	Kasich	Percentage
Lackawanna	14,430	70%	3,368	16%	2,606	13%
Lancaster	38,257	44%	27,470	32%	18,766	22%
Lawrence	6,969	60%	2,636	23%	1,801	15%
Lebanon	13,694	55%	6,789	27%	3,806	15%
Lehigh	21,383	55%	9,079	24%	7,377	19%
Luzerne	28,680	77%	4,633	13%	3,371	9%
Lycoming	12,917	62%	5,349	26%	2,217	11%
McKean	3,901	63%	1,151	19%	960	16%
Mercer	8,454	55%	3,085	20%	3,429	22%
Mifflin	4,310	59%	1,788	24%	1,041	14%
Monroe	10,252	69%	2,499	17%	1,798	12%
Montgomery	51,593	48%	21,503	20%	31,370	29%
Montour	1,745	59%	617	21%	512	17%
Northampton	19,695	61%	7,013	22%	5,019	16%
Northumberland	8,241	64%	2,865	22%	1,464	11%
Perry	5,519	57%	2,780	29%	1,092	11%
Philadelphia	25,738	57%	8,231	18%	9,629	21%
Pike	5,203	74%	955	14%	779	11%
Potter	2,369	66%	709	20%	399	11%
Schuylkill	16,801	74%	3,085	14%	2,342	10%
Snyder	3,745	54%	2,034	29%	996	14%
Somerset	9,069	64%	3,159	22%	1,540	11%
Sullivan	842	64%	247	19%	183	14%
Susquehanna	5,036	61%	2,067	25%	1,042	13%
Tioga	4,742	61%	1,687	22%	1,140	15%
Union	3,421	52%	1,953	30%	1,020	16%
Venango	4,934	56%	2,389	27%	1,334	15%
Warren	3,771	56%	1,716	25%	1,088	16%
Washington	16,242	61%	5,444	20%	4,670	17%
Wayne	6,395	68%	1,867	20%	959	10%
Westmoreland	32,209	62%	10,506	20%	8,512	16%
Wyoming	3,634	66%	1,110	20%	633	12%
York	41,927	59%	17,086	24%	10,394	15%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>902,593</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>345,506</b>	<b>22%</b>	<b>310,003</b>	<b>19%</b>
<i>Source: Pennsylvania Department of State. Data are rounded to the nearest whole number.</i>						



**APPENDIX D**

<b>Table D.1. Democratic and Republican Party Turnout by County, 2016</b>						
<b>County</b>	<b>Registered Democrats</b>	<b>Voters</b>	<b>Percentage Turnout</b>	<b>Registered Republicans</b>	<b>Voters</b>	<b>Percentage Turnout</b>
Adams	19,565	8,035	41%	33,678	17,071	51%
Allegheny	520,006	224,612	43%	246,022	120,622	49%
Armstrong	15,832	6,195	39%	20,434	11,525	56%
Beaver	58,855	23,773	40%	38,020	20,111	53%
Bedford	9,598	2,838	30%	20,441	10,426	51%
Berks	115,735	43,563	38%	95,266	49,177	52%
Blair	24,000	8,460	35%	41,835	21,659	52%
Bradford	10,444	3,701	35%	21,363	10,966	51%
Bucks	190,862	83,927	44%	179,940	90,991	51%
Butler	41,167	16,872	41%	65,265	35,453	54%
Cambria	45,529	18,040	40%	29,919	16,933	57%
Cameron	1,220	444	36%	1,636	872	53%
Carbon	18,211	6,945	38%	16,260	8,324	51%
Centre	44,939	18,912	42%	42,673	20,381	48%
Chester	129,234	59,479	46%	149,589	76,240	51%
Clarion	8,086	3,099	38%	12,275	6,896	56%
Clearfield	21,008	6,753	32%	24,863	12,007	48%
Clinton	8,983	3,504	39%	9,348	4,946	53%
Columbia	15,636	6,186	40%	16,917	9,046	53%
Crawford	19,359	7,614	39%	26,219	13,971	53%
Cumberland	53,030	24,102	45%	81,402	45,374	56%
Dauphin	82,783	32,511	39%	73,742	39,844	54%
Delaware	178,249	77,439	43%	168,124	83,132	49%
Elk	9,649	3,519	36%	7,834	4,031	51%
Erie	95,107	39,095	41%	63,012	31,647	50%
Fayette	48,796	15,940	33%	25,120	12,268	49%
Forest	1,294	482	37%	1,711	938	55%
Franklin	24,470	9,107	37%	50,932	27,131	53%
Fulton	2,600	749	29%	5,319	2,770	52%
Greene	12,615	4,316	34%	7,235	3,874	54%
Huntingdon	9,106	3,013	33%	16,542	8,388	51%
Indiana	20,114	8,044	40%	22,148	12,495	56%
Jefferson	9,753	2,846	29%	15,937	7,963	50%
Juniata	3,994	1,456	36%	7,943	4,258	54%

County	Registered Democrats	Voters	Percentage Turnout	Registered Republicans	Voters	Percentage Turnout
Lackawanna	89,887	40,730	45%	40,036	20,710	52%
Lancaster	103,052	41,358	40%	166,930	86,933	52%
Lawrence	27,408	9,968	36%	21,798	11,627	53%
Lebanon	26,149	9,361	36%	44,878	24,874	55%
Lehigh	109,364	38,992	36%	37,516	38,588	50%
Luzerne	105,473	39,547	37%	68,565	37,062	54%
Lycoming	22,073	8,666	39%	35,991	20,941	58%
McKean	7,269	2,280	31%	13,573	6,167	45%
Mercer	33,805	11,459	34%	31,262	15,325	49%
Mifflin	7,519	2,487	33%	14,552	7,320	50%
Monroe	48,931	15,334	31%	33,670	14,839	44%
Montgomery	257,956	128,181	50%	208,044	106,896	51%
Montour	4,679	1,768	38%	5,987	2,950	49%
Northampton	94,926	35,372	37%	68,809	32,268	47%
Northumberland	21,695	7,322	34%	26,122	12,849	49%
Perry	7,155	3,120	44%	17,028	9,650	57%
Philadelphia	801,776	349,805	44%	118,392	44,954	38%
Pike	13,212	3,922	30%	16,471	7,020	43%
Potter	2,903	982	34%	6,696	3,577	53%
Schuylkill	33,902	12,738	38%	41,098	22,627	55%
Snyder	5,391	2,232	41%	13,095	6,972	53%
Somerset	17,997	6,463	36%	25,685	14,176	55%
Sullivan	1,533	622	41%	2,334	1,310	56%
Susquehanna	8,045	3,332	41%	14,330	8,313	58%
Tioga	7,174	2,442	34%	15,156	7,810	52%
Union	6,987	3,220	46%	12,102	6,567	54%
Venango	11,087	4,201	38%	16,567	8,885	54%
Warren	10,626	3,554	33%	14,579	6,790	47%
Washington	66,805	27,639	41%	50,570	26,722	53%
Wayne	10,020	3,919	39%	17,216	9,357	54%
Westmoreland	117,450	46,049	39%	99,027	51,940	52%
Wyoming	5,244	2,398	46%	8,931	5,502	62%
York	98,628	36,393	37%	137,087	71,224	52%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>4,055,950</b>	<b>1,681,427</b>	<b>41%</b>	<b>3,122,135</b>	<b>1,594,475</b>	<b>51%</b>

Source: Pennsylvania Department of State. Data were tabulated by the author.

**APPENDIX E**

<b>Table E.1. Presidential Primary Results in Pennsylvania, 1912–2016</b>					
<b>Democratic</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>April 13, 1912</i>					
Wilson	98,000	100.0%	Roosevelt	282,853	59.7%
			Taft	191,179	40.3%
<i>May 16, 1916</i>					
Wilson	142,202	98.7%	Brumbaugh**	233,095	86.3%
Others*	1,839	1.3%	Ford*	20,265	75.0%
			Roosevelt*	12,359	46.0%
			Hughes*	1,804	70.0%
			Others	2,682	100.0%
<i>May 18, 1920</i>					
Palmer**	80,356	73.7%	E. Wood**	257,841	92.3%
McAdoo	26,875	24.6%	Johnson*	10,869	3.8%
Edwards*	674	0.6%	L. Wood*	3,878	1.4%
Others	1,132	0.1%	Hoover	2,825	1.0%
			Others*	4,059	1.5%
<i>April 22, 1924</i>					
McAdoo*	10,376	43.7%	Coolidge*	117,262	87.9%
Smith*	9,029	38.0%	Johnson*	4,345	330.0%
Others*	4,341	18.3%	La Follette*	1,224	90.0%
			Others*	10,523	7.9%
<i>April 24, 1928</i>					
Smith	24,102	98.1%	Hoover	65,480	90.0%
Walsh	420	1.7%	Coolidge	4,438	6.1%
Reed	54	0.2%	Dawes	1,225	1.7%
			Fuller	998	1.4%
			Lowden	578	0.8%
<i>April 26, 1932</i>					
Roosevelt	133,002	56.6%	France	352,092	92.9%
Smith	101,227	43.1%	Hoover	20,662	5.5%
Others*	563	0.2%	Others	6,126	1.6%
<i>April 28, 1936</i>					
Roosevelt	720,309	95.3%	Borah	459,982	100.0%
Breckinridge	35,351	4.7%			

Democratic	Votes	Percentage	Republican	Votes	Percentage
<i>April 23, 1940</i>					
Roosevelt	724,657	100.0%	Dewey	52,661	66.7%
			Roosevelt	8,294	10.5%
			James**	8,172	10.3%
			Taft	5,213	6.6%
			Vandenberg	2,384	3.0%
			Hoover	1,082	1.4%
			Willkie	707	0.9%
			Others*	463	0.6%
<i>April 25, 1944</i>					
Roosevelt	322,469	99.7%	Dewey*	146,706	83.8%
Others*	961	0.3%	MacArthur*	9,032	5.2%
			Roosevelt	8,815	5.0%
			Willkie*	3,650	2.1%
			Bricker*	2,936	1.7%
			Martin**	2,406	1.4%
			Stassen*	1,502	0.9%
<i>April 27, 1948</i>					
Truman	328,891	96.0%	Stassen*	81,242	31.5%
Eisenhower*	4,502	1.3%	Dewey*	76,988	29.8%
Wallace*	4,329	1.3%	Martin**	45,072	17.5%
Stassen*	1,301	0.4%	MacArthur*	18,254	7.1%
MacArthur*	1,220	0.4%	Taft*	15,166	5.9%
Others*	2,409	0.7%	Vandenberg*	8,818	3.4%
			Truman*	4,907	1.9%
			Eisenhower*	4,726	1.8%
			Wallace*	1,452	0.6%
			Others*	1,537	0.6%
<i>April 22, 1952</i>					
Kefauver*	93,160	53.3%	Eisenhower	863,785	73.6%
Eisenhower*	28,660	16.4%	Taft*	178,629	15.2%
Truman	26,504	15.2%	Stassen	120,305	10.3%
Taft*	8,311	4.8%	MacArthur*	6,028	0.5%
Harriman*	3,745	2.1%	Warren*	3,158	0.3%
Stevenson*	3,678	2.1%	Truman*	267	0.1%
Russell*	1,691	0.1%	Others*	9,026	5.2%
Others*	1,121	0.1%			

<b>Table E.1 (continued)</b>					
<b>Democratic</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>April 24, 1956</i>					
Stevenson	642,172	93.6%	Eisenhower	951,932	95.5%
Kefauver*	36,552	5.3%	Knowland	43,508	4.4%
Others*	7,482	1.1%	Others*	976	0.1%
<i>April 26, 1960</i>					
Kennedy*	183,073	71.3%	Nixon	968,538	98.1%
Stevenson*	29,660	11.5%	Rockefeller*	12,491	13.0%
Nixon*	15,136	5.9%	Kennedy*	3,886	0.4%
Humphrey*	13,860	5.4%	Stevenson*	428	0.1%
Symington*	6,791	2.6%	Goldwater*	286	0.1%
Johnson*	2,918	4.0%	Others*	1,202	0.1%
Rockefeller*	1,078	4.0%			
Others*	4,297	1.7%			
<i>April 28, 1964</i>					
Johnson*	209,606	82.8%	Scranton*	235,222	51.9%
Wallace*	12,104	4.8%	Lodge*	92,712	20.5%
Kennedy*	12,024	4.7%	Nixon*	44,396	9.8%
Scranton*	8,156	3.2%	Goldwater*	38,669	8.5%
Lodge*	4,895	1.9%	Johnson*	22,372	4.9%
Goldwater*	1,731	0.7%	Rockefeller*	9,123	2.0%
Nixon*	1,606	0.2%	Wallace*	5,105	1.1%
Rockefeller*	576	0.2%	Smith*	1,721	0.4%
Stevenson*	332	0.1%	Romney*	936	0.2%
Smith*	260	0.1%	Kennedy*	661	0.1%
Romney*	66	0.0%	Stassen*	280	0.1%
Others*	1,790	0.7%	Others*	1,671	0.4%
<i>April 23, 1968</i>					
McCarthy	428,259	71.7%	Nixon*	171,815	59.7%
Kennedy*	65,430	11.0%	Rockefeller*	52,915	18.4%
Humphrey*	51,998	8.7%	McCarthy*	18,800	6.5%
Wallace*	24,147	4.0%	Wallace*	13,290	4.6%
Johnson*	21,265	3.6%	Kennedy*	10,431	3.6%
Nixon*	3,434	0.6%	Reagan*	7,934	2.8%
Others*	2,556	0.4%	Humphrey*	4,651	1.6%
			Johnson*	3,027	1.1%
			Shafer	1,223	0.4%
			Others*	3,487	1.2%

Democratic	Votes	Percentage	Republican	Votes	Percentage
<i>April 25, 1972</i>					
Humphrey	481,900	35.1%	Nixon*	153,886	83.3%
Wallace	292,437	21.3%	Wallace*	20,472	11.1%
McGovern	280,861	20.4%	Others*	10,443	5.7%
Muskie	279,983	20.4%			
Jackson	38,767	2.8%			
Chisholm*	306	1.0%			
Others*	585	1.0%			
<i>April 27, 1976</i>					
Carter	511,905	37.0%	Ford	733,472	92.1%
Jackson	340,340	24.6%	Reagan*	40,510	5.1%
Udall	259,166	18.7%	Others*	22,678	2.8%
Wallace	155,902	11.3%			
McCormack	38,800	2.8%			
Shapp	32,947	2.4%			
Bayh	15,320	1.1%			
Harris	13,067	0.9%			
Humphrey*	12,563	0.9%			
Others*	5,032	0.3%			
<i>April 22, 1980</i>					
Kennedy	736,954	47.2%	Bush	628,759	51.9%
Carter	732,332	46.9%	Reagan	527,916	43.6%
Brown	93,805	6.0%	Baker	30,846	2.5%
			Connally	10,056	0.8%
			Stassen	6,767	0.6%
			Jacobson	4,357	0.4%
			Fernandez	2,521	0.2%
<i>April 10, 1984</i>					
Mondale	747,267	46.8%	Reagan	616,916	100.0%
Hart	551,335	34.5%			
Jackson	264,463	16.6%			
Cranston	22,829	1.4%			
Griser	6,090	0.4%			
Askew	5,071	0.3%			

<b>Table E.1 (continued)</b>					
<b>Democratic</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>April 26, 1988</i>					
Dukakis	1,002,480	66.5%	Bush	687,323	79.0%
Jackson	411,260	27.3%	Dole	103,763	11.9%
Gore	44,542	3.0%	Robertson	79,463	9.1%
Hart	20,473	1.4%			
Simon	9,892	0.7%			
Wesner	7,546	0.5%			
Gephardt	7,254	0.5%			
Larouche	4,443	0.3%			
<i>April 28, 1992</i>					
Clinton	715,031	56.5%	Bush	774,865	76.8%
Brown	325,543	25.7%	Buchanan	233,912	23.1%
Tsongas	161,572	12.8%			
LaRouche	21,534	1.7%			
Harkin	21,013	1.7%			
Kerrey	20,802	1.6%			
<i>April 23, 1996</i>					
Clinton	666,486	92.1%	Dole	435,031	63.6%
LaRouche	57,583	8.0%	Buchanan	123,011	18.0%
			Forbes	55,018	8.0%
			Keyes	40,025	5.9%
			Lugar	31,119	4.6%
<i>April 4, 2000</i>					
Gore	525,306	74.6%	Bush	472,398	73.4%
Bradley	146,797	20.9%	McCain	145,719	22.7%
LaRouche	32,047	4.6%	Forbes	16,162	2.5%
			Bauer	8,806	1.4%
<i>April 27, 2004</i>					
Kerry	585,683	74.1%	Bush	861,555	100.0%
Dean	79,799	10.1%			
Edwards	76,762	1.0%			
Kucinich	30,110	0.4%			
LaRouche	17,528	0.2%			
<i>April 22, 2008</i>					
Clinton	1,275,039	54.6%	McCain	595,175	72.9%
Obama	1,061,441	45.4%	Paul	129,323	15.8%
			Huckabee	92,430	11.3%

<b>Democratic</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Republican</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>April 24, 2012</i>					
Obama	616,102	100.0%	Romney	468,374	60.0%
			Santorum	149,056	18.4%
			Gingrich	84,537	10.4%
			Paul	106,148	13.1%
<i>April 26, 2016</i>					
Clinton	925,125	55.6%	Trump	899,125	56.7%
Sanders	725,042	43.6%	Cruz	343,464	21.7%
De La Fuente	14,353	0.9%	Kasich	307,473	19.3%
			Carson	14,777	0.9%
			Rubio	11,870	0.9%
			Bush	9,491	0.6%
<p><i>Source: Deborah Kalb, ed., CQ Guide to US Elections. 7th ed. Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly Press, 2016.</i></p> <p>* Denotes "write-in candidate."</p> <p>** Denotes "favorite son candidate."</p>					



**APPENDIX F**

<b>Table F.1. Hillary Clinton's Vote Comparison between 2008 and 2016 by Pennsylvania County</b>						
<b>County</b>	<b>2008 Votes</b>	<b>2016 Votes</b>	<b>Votes +/-</b>	<b>2008 Percentage</b>	<b>2016 Percentage</b>	<b>Percentage +/-</b>
Adams	6,567	3,863	-2,704	58.1%	48.1%	-10.0%
Allegheny	169,707	123,715	-45,992	54.4%	55.1%	0.7%
Armstrong	7,246	2,992	-4,254	71.5%	48.3%	-23.2%
Beaver	28,331	13,531	-14,800	69.8%	56.9%	-12.9%
Bedford	3,711	1,388	-2,323	70.1%	48.9%	-21.2%
Berks	36,064	21,063	-15,001	58.0%	48.4%	-9.6%
Blair	8,875	3,965	-4,910	64.8%	46.9%	-17.9%
Bradford	3,877	1,809	-2,068	65.8%	48.9%	-16.9%
Bucks	71,757	46,917	-24,840	62.6%	55.9%	-6.7%
Butler	15,278	8,790	-6,488	63.3%	52.1%	-11.2%
Cambria	23,572	8,507	-15,065	71.8%	47.2%	-24.6%
Cameron	409	186	-223	59.3%	41.9%	-17.4%
Carbon	7,922	3,384	-4,538	78.1%	48.7%	-29.5%
Centre	9,789	8,458	-1,331	39.9%	44.7%	4.8%
Chester	32,895	33,082	187	44.8%	55.6%	10.8%
Clarion	3,417	1,529	-1,888	66.4%	49.3%	-17.1%
Clearfield	8,167	3,194	-4,973	68.5%	47.3%	-21.2%
Clinton	3,622	1,704	-1,918	68.3%	48.6%	-19.7%
Columbia	5,556	2,504	-3,052	60.3%	40.5%	-19.8%
Crawford	7,360	3,707	-3,653	62.6%	48.7%	-13.9%
Cumberland	15,840	12,421	-3,419	52.7%	51.5%	-1.1%
Dauphin	18,369	18,474	105	41.8%	56.8%	15.1%
Delaware	43,028	46,252	3,224	44.4%	59.7%	15.4%
Elk	4,159	1,601	-2,558	64.8%	45.5%	-19.3%
Erie	34,922	20,395	-14,527	63.0%	52.2%	-10.8%
Fayette	23,095	9,195	-13,900	78.8%	57.7%	-21.1%
Forest	613	251	-362	68.3%	52.1%	-16.3%
Franklin	7,891	4,707	-3,184	59.1%	51.7%	-7.4%
Fulton	962	366	-596	68.0%	48.9%	-19.1%
Greene	6,282	2,268	-4,014	75.4%	52.5%	-22.9%
Huntingdon	2,957	1,304	-1,653	62.5%	43.3%	-19.3%
Indiana	7,901	4,049	-3,852	64.0%	50.3%	-13.7%
Jefferson	3,177	1,249	-1,928	63.3%	43.9%	-19.4%
Juniata	1,711	664	-1,047	68.6%	45.6%	-23.0%

County	2008 Votes	2016 Votes	Votes +/-	2008 Percentage	2016 Percentage	Percentage +/-
Lackawanna	43,243	23,020	-20,223	73.8%	56.5%	-17.3%
Lancaster	22,906	19,840	-3,066	45.5%	48.0%	2.6%
Lawrence	13,225	5,845	-7,380	74.2%	58.6%	-15.6%
Lebanon	7,611	4,669	-2,942	56.0%	49.9%	-6.1%
Lehigh	33,163	20,430	-12,733	60.3%	52.4%	-7.9%
Luzerne	48,123	20,542	-27,581	75.0%	51.9%	-23.1%
Lycoming	7,950	3,808	-4,142	58.5%	43.9%	-14.6%
McKean	2,442	1,053	-1,389	66.2%	46.2%	-20.0%
Mercer	14,168	6,530	-7,638	69.1%	57.0%	-12.1%
Mifflin	3,000	1,201	-1,799	69.9%	48.3%	-21.6%
Monroe	12,487	8,169	-4,318	57.6%	53.3%	-4.3%
Montgomery	78,318	75,628	-2,690	50.7%	59.0%	8.3%
Montour	1,481	846	-635	60.4%	47.9%	-12.5%
Northampton	31,608	18,104	-13,504	61.3%	51.2%	-10.2%
Northumberland	8,559	3,582	-4,977	71.7%	48.9%	-22.8%
Perry	2,684	1,329	-1,355	61.5%	42.6%	-18.9%
Philadelphia	153,947	218,959	65,012	34.8%	62.6%	27.8%
Pike	3,684	2,009	-1,675	59.1%	51.2%	-7.9%
Potter	1,050	402	-648	64.9%	40.9%	-24.0%
Schuylkill	15,369	6,534	-8,835	73.6%	51.3%	-22.3%
Snyder	1,824	1,125	-699	62.5%	50.4%	-12.1%
Somerset	8,525	3,114	-5,411	72.4%	48.2%	-24.2%
Sullivan	679	312	-367	68.4%	50.2%	-18.2%
Susquehanna	3,334	1,680	-1,654	65.3%	50.4%	-14.9%
Tioga	2,255	1,055	-1,200	61.6%	43.2%	-18.4%
Union	2,128	1,626	-502	47.9%	50.5%	2.6%
Venango	4,437	2,020	-2,417	68.3%	48.1%	-20.2%
Warren	3,996	1,836	-2,160	66.2%	51.7%	-14.5%
Washington	31,065	15,872	-15,193	71.3%	57.4%	-13.9%
Wayne	3,478	1,859	-1,619	62.0%	47.4%	-14.6%
Westmoreland	51,591	25,009	-26,582	69.2%	54.3%	-14.9%
Wyoming	2,488	1,156	-1,332	69.0%	48.2%	-20.8%
York	29,192	18,459	-10,733	55.3%	50.7%	-4.6%
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1,274,558</b>	<b>935,107</b>	<b>-339,451</b>	<b>55.1%</b>	<b>55.6%</b>	<b>0.5%</b>

Source: Pennsylvania Department of State. Data were tabulated by the author.

## NOTES

*Acknowledgment:* Special thanks go to Beau Ryck, a former graduate student in the West Chester University Department of Geography, who did a great job with the maps.

1. For a guide to how Pennsylvania's counties are categorized, please see Appendix A. These groupings are subjective and reflect those that the author initially developed in his book, *Pennsylvania Elections* (2004).

2. San Diego, California, businessman Rocky De Le Fuente also appeared on the Democratic ballot in Pennsylvania receiving slightly less than 1% overall. Additionally, three Republican candidates for president who previously dropped out or suspended their campaigns, former Florida governor Jeb Bush, Dr. Ben Carson, and Florida senator Marco Rubio, also remained on the ballot and received a smattering of votes. Though for clarity they are excluded in this text, their final percentages are included in Appendix E.

3. For a complete list of the results in each individual county, please see Appendix D.

4. For a complete list of all results for every Pennsylvania presidential primary since 1912, please see Appendix E.

5. For a complete list of the results in each individual county, please see Appendix F.

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